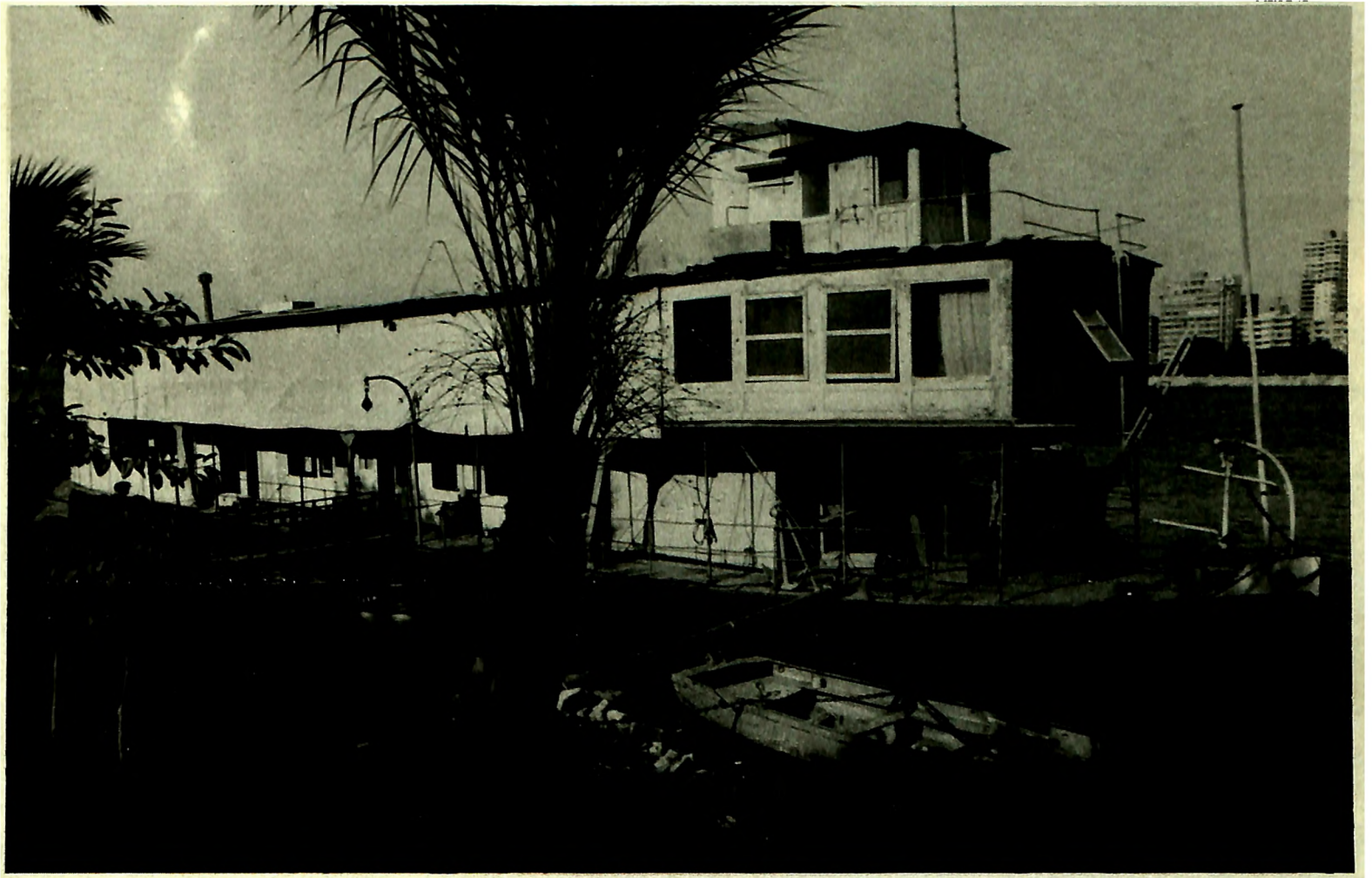


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Cover: The ARCE houseboat "Fostat" on the Nile River

AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT
INCORPORATED

1117 International Affairs Building
Columbia University
New York, NY
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Telephone: 212-280-2045

2, Midan Qasr el-Doubara
Garden City, Cairo
ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT
Telephone: 28239-33052
Cable Address: AMARCH
CAIRO
Telex: 93773 AMEMB UN
ATTN: SCIENCE/ARCE

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A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON 1984 EXCAVATIONS AT HIERAKONPOLIS

Introduction

The 1984 excavation season at Hierakonpolis lasted from January 22 through March 15 and was designed to complement our long-term study of the region through stratigraphic investigations at the floodplain site of Nekhen (Kom El Ahmar). (Fig. 1). Our investigations have revealed a stratified archaeological sequence spanning, without significant interruption, the Predynastic and Archaic periods (ca. 2700 - 4000 B.C.). Simultaneously, geological and geochemical research has laid the groundwork for understanding the environmental conditions that prevailed in our region during mid Holocene times (Hoffman, Hamroutch & Allen, in press).

Research Objectives

Our objectives during the 1984 season were: (1) to determine the depth and approximate horizontal extent of Predynastic archaeological deposits under the Archaic-Old Kingdom town of Nekhen; (2) to test the feasibility of excavating below the groundwater table in the modern alluvium; (3) to develop a stratigraphically and empirically based regional chronology that would tie together the extensive desert Predynastic settlements and cemeteries we explored in previous seasons; (4) to attempt to link directly Predynastic and Dynastic archaeological sequences; and (5) to determine the sedimentological and environmental factors affecting Predynastic - Archaic settlement in this area of the Nile floodplain.

Methods

Archaeological investigations concentrated in a ten meter square, 10N5W, in the early historic town of Nekhen, where 1969 excavations had located clearly Protodynastic (Naqada III) pottery and architecture (Hoffman 1970 & 1972). In addition to careful stratigraphic excavations in 10N5W, limited cleaning in adjacent squares 9N5W and 9N4W helped clarify architectural problems related to the Predynastic occupation, notably the existence of a large, Naqada II/III town or palace wall.

The archaeological sequence from 10N5W was supplemented by three geological trenches dug along a canal between Nekhen and the desert's edge and a transect of 20 cores as well as 4 special cores taken in each corner of 10N5W. Time does not permit discussion of geological and sedimentological findings, but a detailed report is now in preparation.

At 10N5W the square was first cleared of the dense Halfa grass and thick salt encrustations which had accumulated since our 1969 excavations. Next, grid points were re-checked with reference to cement monuments established in 1967 to insure the accuracy of theodolite mapping and leveling. A temporary datum of zero was established on stake 11N5W and later related to absolute

elevation ASL (81.90 m.). The precision of such levels is especially crucial for our objective of studying the relationship between buried Predynastic archaeological deposits and mid Holocene Nile flood heights. All mapping of features and artifacts within 10N5W was done by reading azimuths with a Nikon Wild-type theodolite placed over stake 10N5W and by chaining distance with a cloth-nylon composition tape and plumb bob.

After cleaning 10N5W, a core was drilled by hand in each corner to determine the approximate depth and sequence of underlying cultural deposits. Depth from the existing archaeological surface (ca. 1 m. below adjacent ground surface) was calculated by measuring the augur handle before and after a new boring was made. All readings were then related to both modern, adjacent ground surface and absolute elevation ASL. Soil and artifact samples from each core were hand sorted on the spot by staff archaeologists and geologists. When collapse of the core hole due to groundwater erosion threatened to contaminate a sample, that sample was discarded and a new one taken after cleaning out the hole. Each augur cut produced a sample between 12 and 20 cm. in depth and about 10 cm. in diameter. Enough sherds were recovered to indicate a normal chronological sequence extending back, at least, to Badarian or even local Neolithic (ca. 4000 - 5000 B.C.). The four cores in 10N5W indicated that the desired, stratified Predynastic deposits were present, gave us a rough idea of their total thickness (about 4 m.) and allowed us to monitor fluctuating groundwater levels. Additional coring from south to north across Nekhen indicated widespread Predynastic occupation buried under the modern floodplain and suggests that our previous estimates of population size for this period were too conservative.

Subsequently, our primary goals at 10N5W were to establish a reliable stratigraphic sequence and obtain a maximum amount of architectural and spatial information before the groundwater forced us to restrict our excavations to a small sondage that could be kept dry by pumping. To accomplish these goals, all walls and floors were carefully cleaned to their 1969 condition (Halfa roots notwithstanding) and architectural units and features re-mapped and then excavated with attention to detail. Of especial interest were the latest, historic building phase (Archaic) and some minor intrusions (New Kingdom - Ptolemaic) in the southernmost part of the square. Once it was determined that the latest major structures in 10N5W were probably First Dynasty (ca. 3100 - 2900 B.C.) and not later than Second Dynasty (ca. 2900 - 2700 B.C.), it was possible to work back systematically to earlier, prehistoric levels. Significantly, there were no architectural or stratigraphic breaks between early historic and later prehistoric phases (i.e., between Archaic and Protodynastic, Naqada III) or, for that matter, within the Predynastic sequence (from Naqada III through Naqada I or I/II). To facilitate recording, the square was subdivided into a number of excavation units reflecting cultural or pedological features

and into four quadrants (adjusted to allow for architectural units). Additional balks were used within the square to complement the stratigraphic information provided by the profiles on the four sides of the larger square.

As in past seasons, all ceramic and stone artifacts and faunal remains were analyzed and quantified according to standardized, multivariate methods (Hoffman et al 1982). Despite the apparent lack of macro-botanical remains comparable to those from our desert sites (El Hadidi 1982), extensive floatation samples were taken.

The dirt from most features and every level of the sondage was sifted through 1/4 inch mesh. In the lower levels of the sondage it was possible to water sieve using excess runoff from our pump. In some instances, in the upper, Protodynastic (Nagada III) levels, because of the heavy, moist clay soils, the very large artifact sample and the high degree of attention possible through slow excavation, some units were not screened.

A major aim of this season's research was to conduct controlled excavation below the groundwater table. Given the implications of this technique for future stratigraphic research in the Nile Valley, a brief discussion of our field procedures is in order: It was originally hoped to excavate a large area using heavy duty mud and sludge pumps and a stepped moat system designed to slowly lower the water table and provide maximum horizontal and vertical control. It was assumed that this technique could work up to 1.5 m. below the groundwater table. Several circumstances forced us to revise this strategy. First, coring showed at least 4 m. of Predynastic deposit (3 to 3.5 m. of which were under water). Second, water pressure was stronger than anticipated. Third, our pumps, generously donated by Peabody-Barnes, Inc. of Ohio, arrived late in the season. Fourth, because of shortage of research funds, it was impossible to keep the pumps running all night. Thus, every morning our sondage bore increasing resemblance to a swimming pool!

Despite such problems, the techniques we developed proved successful. By selecting a reduced area for our deep sondage and by placing a deep sump next to it, we were able to dig in arbitrary levels over 1 m. below the groundwater table. Initially, to stabilize the sump and prevent the collapse of saturated deposits a 50 gal. steel drum, open at both ends and with numerous holes punched in its sides, was driven down almost to the base of ceramic bearing deposits (i.e., nearly to the lowest levels reached by coring). Later, another 50 gal. drum was placed on top of the first, lining the entire sump pit. Because it was impossible to pump after working hours due to a shortage of funds, water rose in our sondage every evening, causing some collapse of our profiles. Consequently, every morning before excavating commenced and after pumping the sondage dry, we removed all collapse to prevent contamination of our stratigraphic samples.

The sondage began inside a triangular shaped Protodynastic room measuring approximately 5.40 m. x 4.80 m. x 2.50 m. It was subsequently reduced to an area 2.75 m. x 2.60 m. x 1.60 m. to accomodate the sump and finally finished as a rhomboid 1.30 m. x 1.10 m. on its sides and 0.35 m. x 0.70 m. on its ends. Despite the ever decreasing area forced by the need to buttress against groundwater-induced collapse, the ceramic samples are sufficiently variable and well stratified to trace the principal periods of Predynastic occupation back to the Amratian or transitional Amratian-Gerzean period (Naqada I or Naqada I/II). To give an idea of the size of the ceramic sample, a total of 10,631 body sherds were recovered from the sondage, 171 from the lowest level (Fig. 4). Because of constant soil wetness, it was impossible to recover features or detect minute soil changes in the lowest levels of the sondage. Fortunately, both the stratigraphic profiles and the ceramic sequence indicate no major intrusions or discontinuities. After excavation, the sondage was backfilled to prevent collapse.

In summary, we were successful in using pumps to allow controlled stratigraphic excavation of sub groundwater archaeological deposits in the modern Nile alluvium at Nekhen. Our only regret is that we were unable to reach the bottom of those deposits. Fortunately, we now know that this objective is feasible and hope to resume deep probings at a future date.

Results

After almost two months of fieldwork, we have achieved the following results during the 1984 season at Hierankopolis: (1) through auguring and coring we have established the existence of about 4 m. of stratified Predynastic settlement deposits under the Archaic levels at Nekhen and the surprisingly wide extent of those buried deposits under the modern floodplain; (2) the use of special heavy duty mud and sludge pumps has enabled us to excavate over 1 m. below the groundwater table and maintain stratigraphic control; (3) we have directly linked Dynastic and Predynastic levels at Nekhen -- a site known to have played a major role in the initial political unification of Egypt and the attendant transition from prehistory to history; (4) we have recovered a ceramic sequence (Figure 4) spanning Protodynastic (Naqada III, ca. 3100-3200 B.C.), Gerzean (Naqada II, ca. 3200-3500 B.C.) and a portion of the Amratian (Naqada I, ca. 3500-3800 B.C.) periods and have preliminary indications of underlying Badarian and Neolithic levels; (5) we have identified and recorded two superimposed Protodynastic (Naqada III) house floors and an adjacent large town or palace wall of Protodynastic-Gerzean (Naqada II/III) date, ca. 3300-3200 B.C. (Fig. 3). Such information complements our earlier research with Predynastic settlement patterns and house types (Hoffman 1980 & Hoffman et al 1982) in low desert sites; (6) we have established the outlines of mid Holocene erosional and depositional events in the local floodplain after ca. 5000-4000 B.C. Specifically, it is clear that Nekhen originally stood on the edge of the

floodplain and was built on a topographic high which was the product of either an underlying, early Holocene wadi fan, a Nile levee or a combination of both of these agencies. Beginning around 3500/3400 B.C. there was a decline in the average annual Nile flood -- a situation that persisted through the Old Kingdom. Finally, preliminary research suggests that a branch of the Nile flowed just NE of Nekhen, but further fieldwork is required to test this hypothesis.

Significance of the Research

Our 1984 excavations at Nekhen have provided the first direct stratigraphic link between Dynastic and Predynastic periods ever found at a major archaeological site in Egypt. It is also the first time since Caton-Thompson's 1924 work at Hemammieh (Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928) that a well stratified succession of superimposed Predynastic components have been recovered from a settlement site. Our work demonstrates conclusively that many large Predynastic sites still lie deeply buried in the Nile floodplain and that, with appropriate excavation techniques, these can yield valuable data. Geologically, our research suggests that the Nile floods already from the mid fourth millenium B.C. were unusually low -- a picture at odds with conclusions generally drawn from the historical data (Bell 1970 & Butzer 1976) but in line with Hassan's (1981 & 1985) more recent observations. These revisions may force us to re-evaluate the relationship between the Nile floods and the origins of both local village farming cultures and the Egyptian state. Finally, the fact that our sequence comes from a site known to have played a central role in the development of the Egyptian state should be of interest to those studying the comparative chronological development and processional transformations of complex societies in other areas of the world such as Mesopotamia and Mesoamerica.

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Our ability to work successfully near and below the water table is due to a generous contribution of two pumps from Peabody Barnes, Inc. of Mansfield Ohio. Room and board while in the field was kindly provided by the Egyptian Ferrosilicon Co.; this allowed us to stretch our funds beyond all reasonable expectations, and it nearly doubled our budgeted field time. We would like to thank these agencies and companies for their generous and timely assistance and the personnel of the following

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We dedicate our work this year to the memory of Dr. Labib Habachi, who remained until the very end a steadfast friend of our expedition and a source of aid and encouragement.

The members of our 1984 staff included the following individuals without whose hard work none of our discoveries would have been possible:

B. Adams	Egyptologist, ceramicist, registrar
H. Barakat	Archaeo-botanist
R. Greenlee	Photographer, archaeological technician
H. Hamrrouch	Geochemist, geologist
J. Long	Assistant Director, archaeologist, lithic analyst
J. McArdle	Archaeo-zoologist, physical anthropologist
G. Qadis	Inspector for the Egyptian Antiquities Organization
M. Trad	Egyptologist, toponymist, registrar

We were also fortunate in having the temporary services of R. and H. Jaeschke of Chicago House, Luxor, consulting on matters of preservation and conservation.

Michael Allen Hoffman
University of South Carolina

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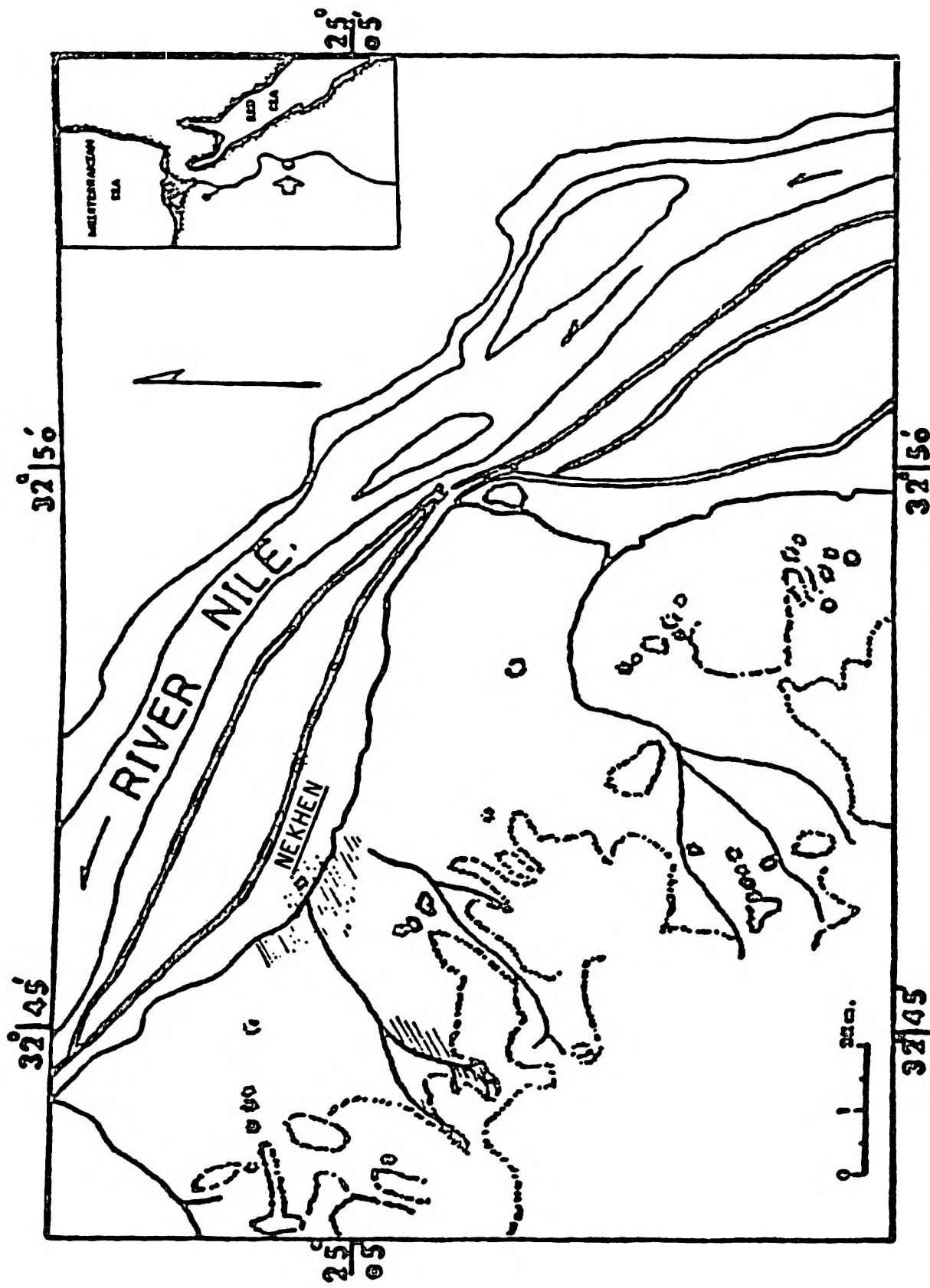
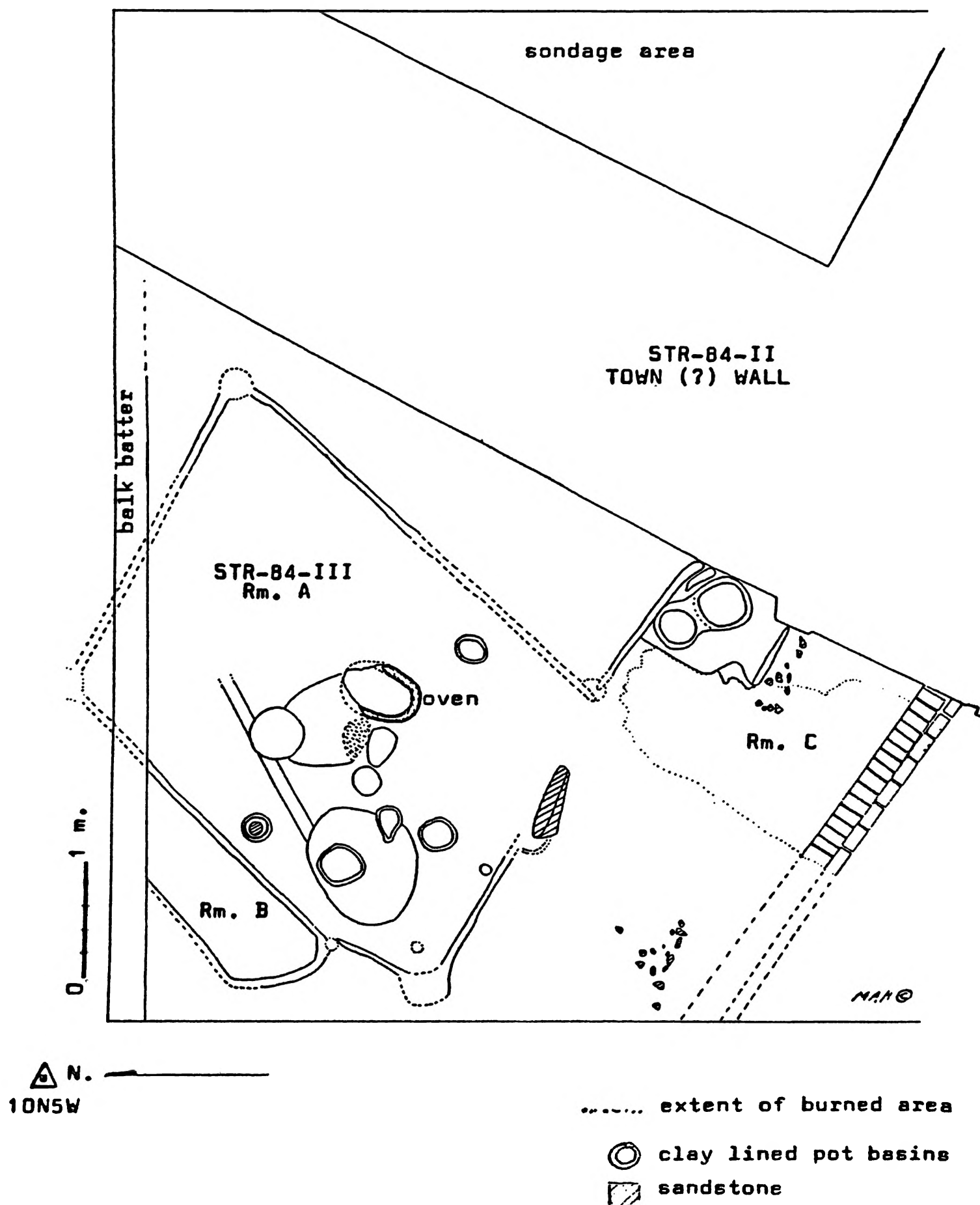
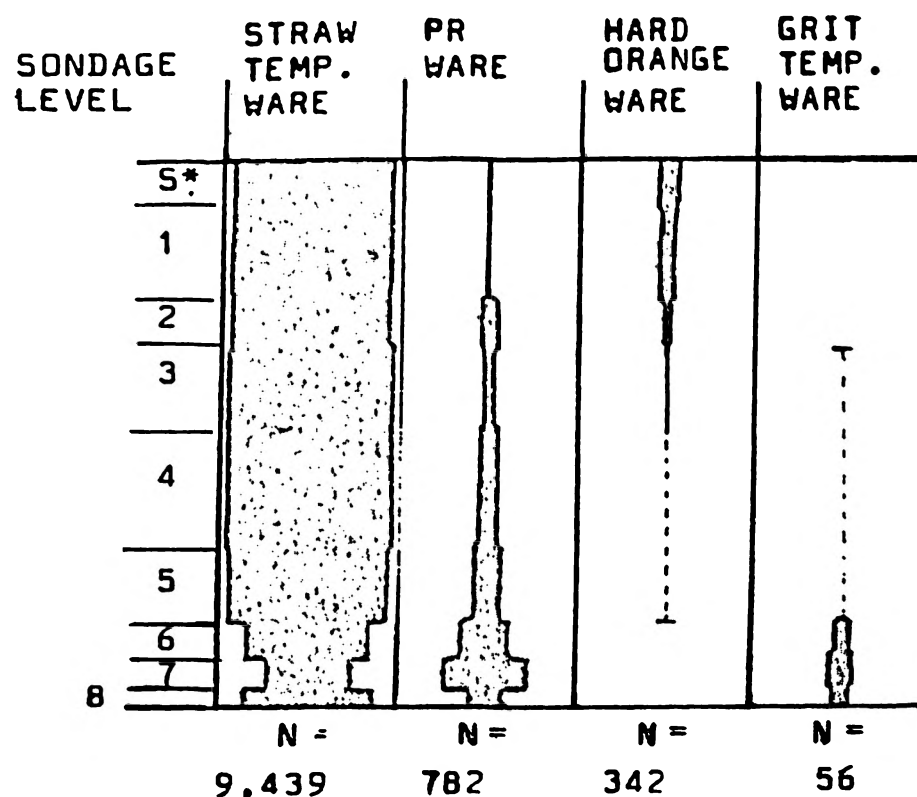


FIGURE 1
GENERAL MAP OF THE HIERAKONPOLIS REGION



PREDYNASTIC DOMESTIC STRUCTURE (STR-84-III) AND TOWN (?)
WALL (STR-84-II) AT NEKHEN (NAQADA II/III PERIOD)
1984 EXCAVATIONS IN SQUARE 10N5W





vertical scale: 1:25

0 100%

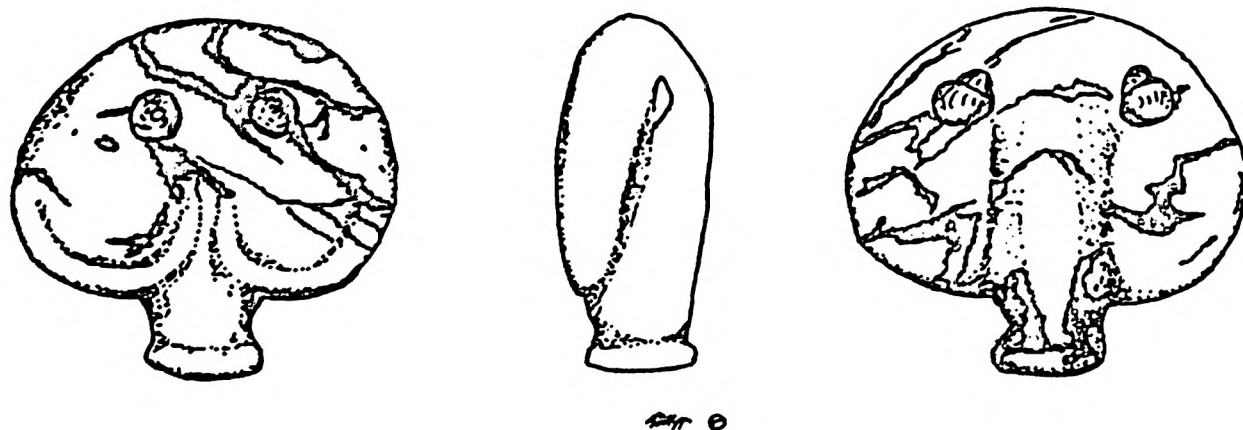
horizontal scale: 1 mm. = 10%

S*--sand builder's level, top begins 0.76 m.
below datum

FIGURE 4

FREQUENCIES OF BODY SHERDS IN THE SONDAGE IN SQUARE 10N5W
AT NEKHEN

CHRONOLOGICALLY DIAGNOSTIC NAQADA II/III ARTIFACTS FROM
THE NORTH CENTRAL SECTION, LEVEL 3, 10N5W



BANDED WHITE AND GRAY SERPENTINE
AMULET (1:1)

CERAMIC FIGURINE (1:1)



THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PTOLEMAIC KINGS, QUEENS
AND DEITIES BASED ON THE RELIEFS AT PHILAE:
A FIELD REPORT

Introduction

Traditional studies of Egyptian art end with the conquest by Alexander the Great, as if everything afterwards was no longer native to the Nile Valley. The study of art history and archaeology of the Ptolemaic Period is barely more than a generation old. The texts and language of the Ptolemaic Period have been studied extensively by European scholars. Their interest resides almost exclusively in the hieroglyphic inscriptions and rituals described therein. Whereas the iconography of Ptolemaic sculpture in the round of the Egyptian idiom has been well collected and for the most part published (B.V. Bothmer et. al., Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, idem, Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture), the Ptolemaic reliefs have been dealt with only briefly by a few scholars; Bissing, Steindorff, Bothmer and Mysliwiec. This study addresses for the first time in a systematic way, Ptolemaic iconography at the site of Philae.

This iconographic research is composed of two parts: a stylistic analysis of the figures; and a typological analysis of the carved attributes which each figure wears, such as crowns, skirts and of the offerings. This latter study will be further applied to determine the relationship between the type of crown and skirt a Ptolemaic King wears when making a specific offering to particular deities on certain architectural elements of the temple. This study may also be used to determine to what degree the grammaire du temple is pictorially represented. Moreover, the typological analysis may settle the issue of the use of patterns for the attributes with fixed combinations of patterns for the Ptolemaic Period. Finally, with the combination of both stylistic and typologic studies, it is hoped that some statements might be made on the working methods of the ancient artisans.

Preparation for Field Work

The research has been limited to the temples of Philae and to a lesser extent to Edfu. The temples of Philae were selected as the basis of this study due to the generous invitation of Prof. Dr. Erich Winter, who is publishing the texts under the auspices of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Philae is the result of continuous building and decoration phases beginning with the native Egyptian king of Dynasty XXX incorporating contributions by almost every Ptolemaic king continuing well into the Roman Period.

Research was initiated in Trier, Federal Republic of Germany in archives which include Junker's "Berlin Photos", Dr. Winter's "detail photos", and the latex squeezes of the scenes. Working

from some 6000 photographs, the elements of all the Ptolemaic scenes at Philae were studied. Using a magnifying glass, an attempt was made to isolate all the engraved lines of each crown, skirt and offering. Each of these attributes was drawn, and a catalogue was started. The crowns were organized according to general form, from simplest to most complicated; each drawn to a common scale. The drawing was then labelled with its Berlin Photo number and the name of the king. This procedure was also employed for the skirts and offerings. Remarkably, 580 different crown variants, 298 skirts and 378 offerings were drawn. With the latter, it often occurred that although the offering would reappear, the gesture of the hands of the king was altered. For example, a Maat could be offered in the far hand with the near hand gesturing in front of the object, behind the object and so on. The sun discs, vultures or falcons appearing over the head of the king were also drawn. These, however, comprised a limited number of variations amounting to 51 in all.

The Berlin Photos had certain limitations which could only be overcome by close field inspection of the actual scenes. When Junker took the photographs, paint was still extant in many of the scenes. Often, from the photographs it was not possible to distinguish a painted line from an engraved one. It was assumed that every scene was painted or intended to be painted, but the objective was and is to study the typology of engraved forms only, as pigment is no longer extant. In addition, the photographs were often hard to read because while Junker was working with large format cameras at eye level with each scene, he did not have the advantage of raking lights which are imperative when recording carved scenes. It was essential, therefore, to check each attribute in the original at the temple itself.

For the task at hand, drawings were needed of all the walls with their architectural members. With the exception of the interior of the Isis Temple, Dr. Winter had made such drawings which he generously provided for use. Each wall was divided into zones of decoration from the keker frieze to the soubassment. Individual walls were assigned their Porter and Moss numbers and each scene was assigned its Berlin Photo number and citations to the relevant publications such as Philae I, II etc. The scene spaces were filled-in with summary drawings of the crowns of the king and gods. The names of all the figures and their forms (i.e., zoomorphic or anthropomorphic) were recorded, their seating/standing arrangement was noted, and the type of offering was specified. Finally, all the attributes in the catalogue were given names with numbers. For example, a rush crown with two sun discs was RDII (R=rush crown, DII=two sun discs) followed by its catalogue number placement. The numbers were alternated, allowing for insertion in the developed format of any new crown types discovered at Philae. The objective was to examine every Ptolemaic scene and each figure's attributes singly, looking it up in the catalogue, and duly noting its name on the photogrammetric drawings of the walls.

This format enables one to see a wall (almost invariably decorated within a single reign), with the distribution of offerings and crowns. It also enables one to see what types of attributes occur on what architectural members or more generally, what tends to appear in the top or bottom registers. In this way, the grammaire du temple can be carefully examined when two sheets (walls) are laid side by side. It is known that gods and offerings tend to be repeated in counterpart scenes on opposite walls, but no attempt had been made to study systematically the iconography of the scenes to determine the consistency of the pictorial elements.

Such a format also helps one to understand whether complete cartoons were made prior to decoration of a room. More important is the question of whether fixed patterns existed at all. That is, when the king offered "X" offering, did he only wear "Y" crown in combination with "W" skirt? Additionally, were all these variables only combined when the offering was made to a certain combination of gods in a particular placement or architectural member on the temple? Because there are so many variables at issue, it is not possible at this early date to give conclusive answers. The data will be computer processed and data spread sheets created. In this way, the date(s) of a given crown, its distribution, with what offerings it occurs, before which gods, and on what architectural member will be tabulated.

Field Work at Philae

Using a seven-month A.R.C.E. fellowship, work was initiated in mid-February, 1985. Fortunately, a group of nine German electricians of Elektro-Anlagen und System GMBH. was installing the Philips equipment for the Sound and Light Show at the time and they generously provided ladders of all sizes, movable scaffolding and electrical current for the work. In this way, every single Ptolemaic scene was clearly observed at eye level. Consequently, major sections of the catalogue were corrected and supplemented and attributes which Junker's camera failed to record were seen and drawn.

One aspect of this study will concern itself with the way artisans decorated the walls. Whereas in sculpture in the round a stylistic development is seen which leads one to assume that sculptor's models or cartoons were made to establish the iconography of each king, this possibility for two-dimensional sculpture has never been fully investigated. Even if the results of such a study proved inconclusive or negative, by careful examination one might speculate as to the number of hands that worked in a given room.

In order to do this, a detailed stylistic study of the figures was needed. Modeled after Iversen's methodology (SÄK 4 (1976), pp. 135 ff.), a form requiring extensive metric measurements (some 65 in total) of well-preserved figures was created. Using simple measuring tools, such as a large set of calipers, a

three-meter metal measuring tape and water levels, many well-preserved royal figures from each Ptolemaic reign represented at Philae were measured. This data will be computerized, reconstructing each figure's canonical proportional quadratic net, upon which the anatomical parts will be superimposed. In this way, it is hoped that the stylistic development during the course of this three hundred year period can be interpreted. For example, one may be able to see that the thighs begin to swell, or that the navel changes in relation to the contour line or to the top of the belt through this period of time. However, at this time it is not expected that this aspect of the study will reveal a straightforward stylistic development, because variations from limb to limb and figure to figure occur within a single scene. Therefore, it appears that the ancient artisan did not adhere rigorously to the proportional net.

So far, this metronomic study confirms what one may regard as different hands carving scenes side by side. With the help of this study, one can speculate on the number of workmen utilized in a given room as well as the work sequence. Through a careful search for guidelines and unfinished parts, it is possible to determine where individual craftsmen began and finished their work.

A study of the columns was made to see where the various fields of decoration are geographically aligned and where the patterns fall out of synchronization. In this way, it was determined where and how the work started. In many cases it could be seen where workmen leap-frogged around when they had finished their task at hand and moved on to an unworked area where space allowed them to work below or alongside a colleague who was working on another field of decoration. This study should tell something about the size of the artisan group and the definition of each job responsibility.

Through the study of all the friezes and soubassments, a catalogue of decoration schemes for architectural members was built up for each Ptolemaic reign. Knowing these patterns also gives a better understanding of the architectural function of a given member. One can even see how these definitions changed over a period of time. For example, certain hypethral areas have been regarded as interior spaces in certain reigns, but exterior spaces in others. This is evident by the respective use of raised or sunk relief. In many cases, this is more a question of the employment of sunk relief as a labor-saving device, compared to raised relief, in areas which are not so likely to be seen, such as the undersides of architraves or areas which enjoy less traffic than others. Here, the quality of craftsmanship can be used to speculate on the economic well-being of a reign. An example is the reign of Ptolemy XII, during which shortcuts in decoration at Philae are more readily in evidence than in any other single reign.

A related question is whether the existing patterns at Philae were also used at other temples during the same reigns. The whole issue of pattern books has been strongly debated for a long time. Thus, there was a need for the collection of comparative material from another site. After the sequence of patterns was completed at Philae and checked several times, the temple of Edfu was visited to determine whether the two temples share common patterns.

Comparative Material from Edfu

The temple of Edfu was selected because like those at Philae, it had been decorated throughout the Ptolemaic Period, and it includes decoration from the reigns of Ptolemy IX Soter II not substantially represented at Philae and of Ptolemy X Alexander I completely absent at Philae. However, the entire temple of Edfu could not be undertaken as it is simply too large, and the proper apparatus such as electrical lighting and scaffolding was not available.

Sections of the temple were chosen which provided good analogies to Philae. Work was concentrated in the pronaos, or so-called First Hypostyle Hall, for several reasons. First, it enjoys sufficient sunlight through its south screen wall for one to see the reliefs without too much difficulty. Second, like the pronaos at the Isis temple at Philae, it is decorated by Ptolemy VIII Evergetes II. Since both these structures are of similar function and date of decoration, they provide highly desirable parallels. Finally, a study on the Edfu pronaos has been recently published (Dieter Kurth, Die Dekoration der Säulen im Pronaos des Tempels von Edfu (Wiesbaden, 1983)). In this study, Kurth establishes that the text and decoration of the columns of the pronaos reflect the geographic components of the land of Egypt. This work may have an application for the interpretation of the pronaos at Philae. Many of the pigments in the pronaos remain intact and give one an idea of the color iconography of each attribute and the color application method in relation to the engraved lines.

The iconography of the Edfu pylon was also examined, because like those at Philae, it was decorated in the time of Ptolemy XII. This was desirable in order to confirm that what is true of the reign of Ptolemy VIII is also true of Ptolemy XII. Fortunately, the sunlight made this examination possible.

Remarkably, it was found that the patterns observed at Philae had little application at Edfu. That is, the patterns for the crowns and offerings differed dramatically. It was necessary to redraw at least one crown from almost every scene. Nearly every offering showed variations from those at Philae. More important, many of the attributes current in the Edfu pronaos of Ptolemy VIII did not appear at Philae until the time of Ptolemy XII. Therefore, Edfu was more precocious than Philae in its decoration, and it can be concluded that each site had its own

"art director" who established patterns for local use. It took a generation before some of those patterns at Edfu reached Philae either by eyewitness account or through movement perhaps of pattern books. This generalization is also true of the decoration friezes at the top and base of the walls and on the columns. Although the decoration of the Edfu pylon is not precocious, there are many variations from the Philae patterns which support what was found in the pronaos.

It was not possible at Edfu to examine the artisans' working methods as had been done at Philae because of the great height of the walls and the absence of scaffolding and electrical lighting. However, it was possible to a degree to study the style of the figures in relation to those at Philae.

In some parts of the temple at Edfu, figure measurements were taken as part of the metronomic study. Fully preserved figures from the lowest registers were measured with their counterparts on opposite walls. As the walls are higher than those at Philae, the dimensions of the figures differ therefrom.

Consequently, it is not possible to state how much the Edfu style deviates from that at Philae until the data have been processed. It appears that there is little to suggest set stylistic figural patterns, because as at Philae, the measurements differ widely from limb to limb and from figure to figure. Although there are general similarities in figural style between the temple decorations, one might speculate that each artist was allowed a certain amount of license.

The key to understanding Ptolemaic iconography is to determine whether fixed patterns for representations existed. That is, to what extent were patterns used for rendering the figure in each reign or over a period of time? Additionally, what were the typologies of attributes and their interrelationships in use over the same period of time? Answers to these questions await further analysis of the data collected during field work. At this point there is no question that differences in specific patterns of attributes between Philae and Edfu exist. However, the significance of these differences is yet to be determined.

At any rate, this stylistic study will contribute to the issue of the existence of stylistic patterns for two-dimensional sculpture. It could also reveal the degree of artistic freedom which the artisan was allowed. If stylistic patterns or a general stylistic development could be established at Philae which is also consistent at Edfu, dating criteria would be available for scores of uninscribed scenes and fragments from other sites.

Again, thanks to the equipment which Sound and Light made available, photographs were taken of many of the telling details so necessary for such a study. These photographs will help others to understand working methods and allow them to make

comparisons at other sites.

The study of typology of forms has resulted in a catalogue of patterns of attributes with all their variants which span the entire Ptolemaic dynasty at Philae. Comparison with sections of the temple at Edfu has established that these sites, if not every major site, employed locally established patterns for specific forms of crowns, skirts and offerings. Once all the variables of each scene are processed, fixed patterns for the combination of generalized forms of the attributes for each scene may be established. These may be valuable to other Egyptologists, who can apply the criteria from Philae to other monuments. The data from Philae may be used to facilitate the reconstruction of partial scenes at other sites. Alternatively, too many differences in attribute patterns might be found which would rule out the existence of fixed decoration schemes. In either case, this study will assist in resolving some of the vexing questions encountered in studies of Ptolemaic temple iconography.

Acknowledgements

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Helen Vassilika
ARCE Fellow
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Report: A Biography of Tawfiq al-Hakim

My project was to continue my work of the past several years to make available to the English speaking world a representative selection of the works of the twentieth century Egyptian author Tawfiq al-Hakim with emphasis this year on his biography and his autobiographical works.

Before I came to Egypt I had published with Three Continents Press, Inc. (1346 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, DC 20036) selected Plays, Prefaces and Postscripts of Tawfiq al-Hakim, the first volume being entitled Theater of the Mind. This volume contains English translations of his plays "The Wisdom of Solomon," "King Oedipus," "Shahrazad," "Princess Sunshine," and "Angels' Prayer" together with the associated prefaces or postscripts. I included in that volume my essay attempting to summarize the major themes of his plays as represented by those translated. This past year Three Continents Press has released the second volume of this book under the title: Theater of Society. It includes the plays "Between War and Peace," "Tender Hands," "Food for the Millions," "Poet on the Moon," "Incrimination," and "Voyage to Tomorrow" again with the related prefaces or postscripts by al-Hakim, plus another of my essays introducing the plays in the volume and my reader's guide to the works of al-Hakim.

Publication is scheduled for this year of my translation of al-Hakim's first and most famous and influential novel, 'Awdat al-Ruh, together with my essay about the novel. It is being published by Three Continents Press which has also published my translation of two short novels and one short story by Ibrahim Abd al-Qadir al-Mazini under the title of Al-Mazini's Egypt. My introduction to that book received a two-part review by Mr. Sami Khashaba in al-Ahram (February 22, 1985, and March 1, 1985). I had tried to extract from al-Mazini's works a vision of the Egypt he knew and represented.

Before returning to Egypt this year, I had reached a point, both in my studies of the works of Tawfiq al-Hakim and of contemporary Egyptian literature, of needing direct access to the people, books, and ideas available only in Egypt. To continue my activity of making al-Hakim's works available in English in a meaningful and responsible way I needed an opportunity to discuss my ideas and plans with Mr. Tawfiq al-Hakim. From my point of view the most important part of my work this year has been my discussions with Tawfiq al-Hakim and his son-in-law and publisher Mr. Muhammad Aly Hassan of Maktabat al-Adab (offices at 42 Opera Square, Cairo.)

The months which al-Hakim spent in the hospital last year and the

state of his health inevitably affected the direction of my work as did my own personal circumstances. Furthermore, al-Hakim had some clear and distinct ideas of his own about the direction he wanted my work to go. He has been very kind in his comments about my critical essays. He explained to me the reasons for the gaps in his published autobiographical materials and requested that I respect his decisions as to what was appropriate to discuss in print at this time. Some of these gaps he is currently filling in with his new retrospective book of political writings in two volumes, of which the first has just been released, called Shajarat al-Hukm al-Siyasi: Misr min 1919-1979. The book is available from Maktabat al-Adab. There is a plan also, if circumstances allow, to produce a companion, retrospective volume for his religious writings.

Tawfiq al-Hakim was particularly insistent that I should not commit too much of my time or energies to research not directly related to a publisher's contract. We therefore devised proposals for two further books (in addition to the ones described above) for which we have received contract offers from Three Continents Press. These two proposals are for a retrospective collection of Hakim's short stories and a selection of his autobiographical writings edited down to form a single narrative self-portrait. The stories we have selected for the short story book are the following; "al-'Awalim," "Radium al-Sa'ada," "Fi Hanat al-Haya," "Ma'a al-Amira al-Ghadba," "Amama Hawd al-Marmar," "Hila Shaytaniya," "Fi-l-Dunya," "Himari wa-l-Nifaq," "Laylat al-Zifaf," "Tarid al-Firdaws," "al-Dunya Riwaya," "Iblis Yantasir," "Nasib," "Zawja Romeo al-Thaniya," "Arini Allah," "Muwazzi' al-Barid," "Ana al-Mawt," "Fi Sana Malyun," "al-Usta Azra'il," "Imra'a Ghalabat al-Shaytan," "al-Habib al-Majhul," "I'tarafa al-Qatil," "Milad Fikra," "Marakib al-Shams," and "Ahl al-Kahf lil-Atfal." These stories were chosen from ten different volumes. The translations and the introductory essay are to be completed after I return to the United States.

Some of the selections chosen for Tawfiq al-Hakim: a Self-Portrait are the following: from Sijn al-'Umr pages 44-54, 89-107, 165-178, 205-216; from Zahrat al-'Umr pages 49-54, 96-115, 55-59; from 'Adala wa-Fann "A Man of Property" and "The Vizier Ja'far"; from Zahrat al-'Umr pages 215-223; from Sijn al-'Umr pages 179-190; from Arini Allah "The Face of Truth"; from Himar al-Hakim pages 11-30, 54-61; from al-Ahram, January 16, 1976, "Return to Youth"; from Thawrat al-Shabab pp. 87-111, 72-78; from al-Ahadith al-Arba'a pages 45-53; from Tahta Shams al-Fikr pages 202-203; from 'Ahd al-Shaytan "My Rights to Myself" pages 60-70; from Uktubir, March 23, 1980, "Forgive Me, Son."

The widow of Hakim's one son Isma'il has agreed to provide some materials for this volume or to write a chapter or appendix concerning the family. Mr. Muhammad Aly Hassan, husband of

Hakim's daughter, has also helped me with this project and provided me with valuable information and insights. He is also the managing editor of al-Hakim's primary publishing house, Maktabat al-Adab, and in that capacity he invited me to contribute an essay to be published with a new edition of an English translation of Hakim's play Muhammad which was based closely on the authentic, early Muslim biographical sources.

This new edition of Muhammad is currently in press and should be available either from Maktabat al-Adab or Three Continents Press. I also translated Hakim's preface for the book and the extensive table of contents or plot summary. In preparing my essay I found that most critics, including myself, have ignored this Muhammad, after making some pro forma reference to it. Two major exceptions have been professors Ibrahim Dardiri in his al-Qisas al-Dini fi Masrah al-Hakim (Cairo: Dar al-Sha'b, 1975) and M.M. Badawi in "Islam in Modern Egyptian Literature" Journal of Arabic Literature, II, 1971. Dardiri has rebutted Badawi's criticism that the work is "episodic and loose" by explaining that prologue for the play are a framework and not two extra acts. He feels that the many short scenes were needed to keep the play a manageable drama while yet providing a well rounded portrait of the Prophet's life. I found I had to disagree with Dardiri about the central concept or image of the play which he thought was the divine light radiating through Muhammad. I see the play rather as a struggle between the Prophet, armed only with belief, and all the wealth and power of his contemporaries. The emphasis in the play, then, is on the humanity of the Prophet, but as understood by al-Hakim. For him, emphasis on Muhammad's humanity is tied directly to Islam's doctrine of respect for free thought. Hakim has asserted that careful consideration of Muhammad's personality will show that any supposed opposition between science and religion does not exist.

In recent years religion has occupied an increasingly obvious place in al-Hakim's writings making him once again a subject of controversy. I was particularly interested then to have a chance to discuss his views with him and to study his early work Muhammad which is so overtly Islamic. An opportunity to continue the investigation of his religious writings was provided by an invitation to give the January Literary Seminar, January 30, 1985 at the American Center in Cairo. The topic was Tawfiq al-Hakim and Walker Percy as two modern authors with spiritual or religious ideas in their literary works. In the essay I prepared for the lecture I claimed that Percy's heroes struggle to know the self, whereas those of Hakim struggle to reconcile emotional fact with intellectual truth. In the plays of Hakim's middle period, like Sulayman al-Hakim of al-Malik Udib, his heroes are also forced to acknowledge, to their chagrin, that the human will is subservient to spiritual forces. The names people give these forces will of course differ according to their culture. Religion and science in the writings of Hakim are different but

parallel tools provided for the use of mankind. The natural laws of the universe are more of a miracle than any apparent interruption of them. I plan to revise this essay so that it traces the development of al-Hakim's religious ideas and expounds his main ideas. I intend to add to the essay translated excerpts from his two recent theological works: al-Ahadith al-Arba'a and al-Ta'aduliya ma' al-Islam wa-i-Ta'aduliya and from his series of this year in al-Ahram: Fi-l-Waqt al-Da'i' ("Time Out") for publication next year in a scholarly journal.

A second major area of controversy about al-Hakim, in addition to his religious or spiritual ideas, is how representative he is of twentieth century Egypt and its literature -- at least as judged by reaction to my translations. It has been my contention, although hardly my invention, that Hakim is a major international author and that therefore a representative collection of his works needs to be made available in English, building on the valuable contributions of his various translators. Yet I have been criticized for neglecting other more "modern" or representative authors. A question like this is obviously too open and judgmental to be given a definitive answer. In any case I have been happy to have had some opportunities this year to explore Egyptian writing of the last twenty years with this issue in mind.

I was invited by Mr. Mohammed Salmawy, a young author on the staff of al-Ahram, to retranslate or revise a collection of his plays for publication in English by the Alef Publishing House (Lasilky Street, New Maadi, Cairo.) I also wrote an essay for this book discussing his plays and short stories. The book was published this year as Come Back Tomorrow and Other Plays. It is to be distributed in the United States by Three Continents Press. Not surprisingly, four pages of my introduction are devoted to a comparison of Salmawy's plays to those of Tawfiq al-Hakim. I spent quite a number of hours with Mr. Salmawy and learned a great deal about contemporary Egyptian literature in a most congenial way from him.

The American University in Cairo Press also offered me two opportunities to further my knowledge of contemporary Egyptian literature. The first was an offer to review a collection of plays by Mr. Ali Salim. I found them to be delightfully paranoid and in some respects reminiscent of the works of Tom Stoppard. In no way, of course, do I claim that Mohammad Salmawy and Ali Salim have a monopoly on creativity in the Egyptian theater, but they have provided me with two doors into it.

The other and far more substantial opportunity provided me by the A.U.C. Press was a proposal to edit and translate a collection of Egyptian short stories to supplement the A.R.C.E. volume, Arabic Writing Today: The Short Story, edited by Mahmoud Manzalaoui which the A.U.C. Press is reissuing. We agreed to exclude all

authors included in the Manzalaoui volume, as well as stories published before that book's 1968 release date. I decided to try to include a representative selection of stories which Egyptians are currently reading as judged by their appearance in the popular press, together with some of the stories critics think people ought to read. Subject to further refinement or suggestions, the manuscript as submitted to the A.U.C. Press includes these authors and stories: Shalma Shallash, "The Other Face",; Baha' Tahir, "Last Night I Dreamt of You"; Salah Abd al-Sayyid, "The Box"; Fawzi Abd al-Qadir al-Miladi, "The Night of the Feast"; Zaynab Rushdi, "The Prophet's Birthday"; Muhammad al-Makhzangi, "Just a Touch"; Huda Gad, "The Blue Weapon"; Zaheira El Beialy, "The Glass Barrier"; Sabry Moussa, "Benovolence"; Nawal al-Sa'dawi, "The Veil"; Fathy Salama, "Friends' Eyes"; Mona Ragab, "A Taste of Success"; Na'im Atiya, "Games"; Mahfuz Abd al-Rahman, "Gentlemen Eating Gentlemen"; Ya'qub al-Sharuni, "Buha the Judge"; Ali Darwish, "What Happened the Day of the Big Meeting?"; Wagih Abd al-Hadi, "Who's Superstitious?"; Mohammed Salmawy, "A Concerto for the Nay"; Taha Wadi, "The Madman"; Amira Nuwayra, "Lost and Found"; Sarwat Abaza, "Swimming in the Sand"; Ibrahim Abd al-Magid, "Over There"; Sahar Tawfiq, "A Visit to the Old City"; Husayn Eid, "The Train at Eleven"; Fu'ad Higazi, "The Source of the Nile is Cairo's Muqattam Hills"; Ahmad al-Shaykh, "The Heir"; Muhammad Kamal Muhammad, "The Leg"; Gamal al-Ghitani, "Buzzing"; Abd al-Al al-Hamamsy, "Dust"; and Abu al-Ma'ati abu al-Naga, "Boundaries".

This selection is obviously somewhat idiosyncratic. There are at least ten more authors who are obvious candidates for inclusion in such a book. I do not know whether circumstances will allow me to include more of them. I have met with as many of the authors as possible and hope to be able to check my translations with them. As one of them pointed out: more is at stake than just words.

I would like to thank all the authors represented in the A.U.C. short story book and especially those I have had the opportunity and pleasure of meeting; those authors who helped locate other writers; Mr. Sami Khashaba and Mr. Muhammad Sabry al-Sayyid both of al-Ahram for their assistance; the editors of Maktabat al-Adab, Dar Alef, Three Continents Press, The American University in Cairo Press, and of The Muslim World; Ms. Camille Caliendo of U.S.I.S. and Mrs. Magda Barsum for their assistance; Professor Hamdi Saskkut of the American University of Cairo and his staff for graciously allowing me to consult their comprehensive and as yet unpublished bibliography for Tawfiq

al-Hakim, thereby saving me countless hours. Most of all I would like to thank the Shayk al-Udaba, Mr. Tawfiq al-Hakim and his son-in-law, Mr. Muhammad Aly Hassan, for their continued encouragement, advice, kindness, and for granting me access to unpublished materials.

William M. Hutchins
NEH Fellow
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ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's Theory of Stylistics

Final Report

The goal of my dissertation project may be described as twofold: to analyze in detail the "stylistics" of ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, both from a theoretical point of view and from a practical, critical point of view, and to elucidate this thinker's place in the Arab intellectual tradition by evaluating the influence on his thinking by certain key predecessors and contemporaries in the fields of rhetoric, grammar, and especially theology.

ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471 a.h./1081 A.D.), whose work is generally agreed to represent the "high watermark of Arabic literary theory,"¹ was at once grammarian, rhetorician and theologian. At the heart of his system of stylistics, delineated mainly in his Dalā'il i'jāz al-Qur'ān and Asrār al-balāgha, is his emphasis on nazm as the basis of excellence in discourse. Unlike many of his predecessors in the Arabic rhetorical tradition, al-Jurjānī rejected the notion that it is the alfāz used in a composition that lend it its superiority. In his view, no individual lafz is intrinsically more pleasing than any other, nor more possessing of meaning. Rather, it was his belief that alfāz become vehicles of meaning only when they enter into relationships with one another. The nature of these is determined by ma'ānī al-naḥw, i.e., the syntactic associations among them. It is this resulting nazm or composition that is the key to stylistic excellence.

The claim of superiority of the Qur'ān was first made as an argument for the prophethood of Muḥammad. With time, the notion of superiority came to be attached specifically to the stylistic superiority of the Qur'an, and by the late ninth century, the term i'jāz was being used as a technical term for the stylistic inimitability of the Qur'ān.² Discussion of this issue, then, was not the limited domain of any one discipline, but rather was the subject of research among scholars within the disciplines of grammar, rhetoric, and theology. It is my belief that it is ʿAbd al-Qāhir's synthesis of these various intellectual trends within the field of i'jāz al-Qur'ān that is at the heart of his uniqueness.

In regard to the first component of my research, one potentially major source was the manuscript of a Qur'an commentary attributed to ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, Daraj al-durar fī-tafsīr al-Qur'ān, a copy of which is located at the Dār al-kutub in Cairo. This text occupied a major portion of the first part of my stay here. Although I had no difficulty getting the manuscript, after working on it for a while I became convinced that this commentary had been incorrectly attributed to ʿAbd al-Qāhir. The text

contains virtually nothing of the approach that marks the major rhetorical works of our author; rather, its main concern is to transmit the main ideas that existed with the tafsīr tradition and to solve potential grammatical and lexical problems. The other main area of activity I had in mind in coming to Cairo has worked out far better even than I could have anticipated. I was able to establish a regular tutorial with Professor Naṣr Abū Zayd of Cairo University, with whom I worked in 1982.

It was extremely helpful to be able to discuss my readings of 'Abd al-Qāhir's works with Professor Abū Zayd. Due to his extensive knowledge of the traditional texts of the Arab intellectual tradition, Professor Abū Zayd was able to provide valuable direction in certain areas in the task of sorting out where 'Abd al-Qāhir expands the traditional line of thinking and where he is consistent with it. One of the most important areas in my research is the effect of his theological views on 'Abd al-Qāhir's work in the rhetorical realm. His single major influence in this regard was al-Qāḍī Abū-l-Hasan 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Asadābādī, the late Muṭazilite thinker (d. 1025 A.D.). A good portion of my time in Cairo was dedicated to reading, with the help of Professor Abū Zayd, parts of 'Abd al-Jabbār's compendium in speculative theology, al-Mughnī fī-abwāb al-tawhīd wa-l-'adl.

In addition, I was able to consult on a regular basis with Shaḥbān Mursī, an instructor at Dār al-'ulūm, while working on certain texts within the area of rhetoric, in particular that of Ibn Sinān al-Khafājī, Sirr al-faṣāḥa.

The Arabic grammatical tradition encompasses a vast body of scholarship dating back to the earliest years of Arab intellectual activity. I was therefore fortunate to have been able to consult, when needed, with Professor Sa'īd Badawī of the American University while attempting to outline a "road map" through this discipline.

One of the main benefits of doing this kind of research in Egypt continues to be access to current works of relevance to the research, as well as editions of older texts. One particularly felicitous discovery soon after my arrival here was that a new edition of Dalā'il i'jāz al-Qur'ān by 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī had just come out. The new edition is by Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir, one of the most respected editors of works in the tradition. Al-Shaykh Shākir's edition makes use of a manuscript not referred to by the editors of the earlier standard edition of the work and thus provides new material stemming directly from 'Abd al-Qāhir himself.

In addition, 1983 saw the publication in Iraq of al-Muqtaṣad, 'Abd al-Qāhir's commentary on al-Idāh of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, a work I expected to have to refer to in manuscript form at the

Maḥad al-Makḥṭūṭāt. This work was easily acquired at the Dār Al-kitāb al-ʿirāqī. Also published within the last year is a major scholarly work on the Arab philosophers' theories of poetics, Ulfat Muḥammad Kamāl ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz' Nazariyyat al-shiʿr ʿind al-falāsifa al-muslimīn. This is a valuable source for an important and little studied aspect of the background to which ʿAbd al-Qāhir was heir.

Another important work, al-Nahw wa-l-dalāla by Muḥammad Ḥamāsa ʿAbd al-Latīf, is of great value in delineating ʿAbd al-Qāhir's place in the grammatical tradition. Professor Ḥamāsa examines how reference is treated by Sibawayh, the "father" of Arabic grammar, to whom al-Jurjānī often clings quite closely, making specific references to his Kitāb and amplifying some of his stylistic remarks. Likewise, Professor Ḥamāsa, a professor at Dar al-ʿulūm, discusses ʿAbd al-Qāhir at great length. Since ʿAbd al-Qāhir, in the end, tries to link his notion of naẓm with the syntactic relations possible within the grammar of the language, it is essential to evaluate his position in this area and to question how completely he manages to establish this connection. I have become convinced that at times ʿAbd al-Qāhir diverges little from the grammatical tradition in which he was trained, while at other times he elaborates the analysis implicit in the judgments of many of his grammarian predecessors. Professor Ḥamāsa's book is a very useful source in this area.

Another work relevant to the same issue is ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Lāshīn's al-Tarākīb al-naḥwiyya min al-wujha al-balāghīyya.

At this point, I can provide a clearer picture of the methodology I expect to follow in attempting to document the extent and nature of the various strains within al-Jurjānī's theoretical formulation.

For the grammatical and rhetorical traditions, it will usually be possible to focus on specific references within ʿAbd al-Qāhir's texts, where he quotes or paraphrases another's work and weaves the reference -- or his interpretation of it -- into this presentation.

A particularly interesting example of this mechanism is furnished by al-Jurjānī's reference to Abū ʿUthmān al-Jāḥiẓ. Very often it is merely as an association intended to enhance his own credibility that ʿAbd al-Qāhir uses this master's texts, while in fact his own views in question diverge sharply from those cited. Other times he offers what might be a clearer historical appreciation of al-Jāḥiẓ than we are usually offered. Textual analysis should throw light not only on the various uses to which al-Jurjānī puts his predecessors' texts and subsequently, on his own formulation, but also on the content of these earlier texts themselves. Indeed, this is precisely the kind of insight this project seeks to provide, i.e., insight into pivotal components

of the intellectual "tradition" as they were first understood, gradually developed and expanded upon, and ultimately transformed into a later stage in that same tradition.

The same sort of specific comparison is possible where al-Jurjānī discusses specific lines of poetry, verses of the Qur'ān or rhetorical figures taken up by key predecessors.

An apparent exception to this approach will be required in treating the influence on 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī of al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār.

Interestingly enough, in this case there are direct quotations (without citation) from 'Abd al-Jabbār's work on i'jāz al-Qur'ān, Volume 16 of al-Mughnī, but other than strong evidence of a specific relationship between the works of the two scholars, these references seem to offer meager comparative material of a substantive nature. This is easily explained. Unlike 'Abd al-Qāhir, 'Abd al-Jabbār is neither rhetorician nor grammarian, so it is not in his more "rhetorical" dicta that we are to find the basis of his influence on 'Abd al-Qāhir.

Rather it is to 'Abd al-Jabbār's whole system that we must look. What philosophical/theological dilemma is he interested in resolving? Issues such as the role of language in representing reality and being, and the kinds of knowledge it can provide are the same dilemma that 'Abd al-Qāhir has in mind in his more literate studies.

As stated elsewhere, 'Abd al-Qāhir's concern for elaborating a system in which rhetoric works in concert with theological notions is one of the main sources of his uniqueness. Indeed, it has become my conviction that matters of theology form the philosophic and intellectual grammar and rhetoric. It is ultimately to this area that we must therefore return. That the theological influence on 'Abd al-Qāhir's work cannot be subjected to the same atomistic analysis implies a certain confirmation of the all-encompassing influence we claim theology had on our scholar.

It should be made clear, though, that the work of 'Abd al-Jabbār does offer certain specific points that can be correlated with the work of al-Jurjānī. My reading of 'Abd al-Jabbār's work on i'jāz al-Qur'ān has led me, for example, to further investigation of that author's discussion of mutashābih al-Qur'ān in his work by that name.

This research year has been of great value in terms of my dissertation research. I have been able to pinpoint more specifically the major sources I will use for the project and have delineated the major methodological direction to be followed throughout. Likewise, the topic and the kind of readings and

discussions it engendered have furnished me with important further training in the medieval Arab intellectual tradition. This is invaluable to me not just as it relates to this project, but also for how it will inform whatever other scholarship I apply myself to in the future. Contact with the Arab intellectual community and exposure to cultural life in Egypt is vital in order to produce scholarship of any relevance or value. It is impossible to replace the readings, discussions and exchange that go on during a research stay in Egypt, and I am grateful to have had this valuable opportunity.

NOTES

1. Heinrichs, Wolfhart. "Literary Theory: The Problem of its Efficiency," in Arabic Poetry: Theory and Development, ed. G.E. von Grunebaum. Los Angeles, 1971. page 21.
2. von Grunebaum, G.E. Encyclopaedia of Islam. Article "Iʿdjāz." pages 1018-20.

Margaret Larkin
ARCE Fulbright Fellow 1983-84

Muslim Mobilization and Change-Producing Institutions

A Preliminary Report

For the purpose of this study, Muslim Mobilization was defined to extend beyond militant Islam. It means simply to bring some or most Muslims to engage in behaviors that they "ought" to perform, behaviors which may range from prayer and fasting to Islamic revolution, and may focus on behaviors as diverse as the achievement of mystical union with the deity, or the elimination of non-Islamic superstitions. Since Muslims differ in their evaluation of some of these behaviors, mobilization is not monolithic and two independent efforts to mobilize Muslims may be at odds with each other. Furthermore, groups that agree on the ends may differ with respect to the means. An example of the first is the animosity that exists between the Ansār as-Sunna l-Muhammadiya, which opposes sufi praxis and theory, and Al-Maglis al-A'la li-t-Turuk as-Sufiya, which represents the sufi brotherhoods of Egypt. And an example of the latter is the militaristic Muslim societies that believe that the state is required in religion to legislate and enforce Islamic law, and that violence must be used against the state to realize that end, and the aforementioned Ansār, who agree with the objective, but not the means. The research foci discussed below represent not just different groups or movements, but different combinations of means and ends.

Though social and cultural change may be produced as unintended consequences of technological innovation (e.g., automobiles, residential patterns, and interaction among extended kin) or population growth (e.g., urban growth and anonymity), etc., it is the change that is targeted by a social organization that is the focus here. Furthermore, whether the organization be religious or secular, the change in question is religious change, i.e., changes in definitions of religious legitimacy, or in definitions of religiously prescribed or proscribed behaviors, or in definitions of religious-elite roles. The latter includes either inherently or accidentally such important things as changes in religious organizations (schools, mosque administration, religious property, research institutes, societies) or in control of access to facilities available to religious elites in the performance of their duties. Attention is not limited, however, to the state's attempts to induce change through its institutions, but may also focus on attempts to modify the state's role in religion, either through legitimate processes, or through the threat of violence, or through assassination, and/or revolution. Some of the institutions in question are the military (training and education programs), the school system (religious education and other classes), the courts (the replacement or modification of Islamic law, or legal attempts to

control non-Islamic practices), the audio-visual and aural media (films, television, radio, video recordings, and aural recordings), and the press (both secular and religious).

There has been a change in various conditioning circumstances for Muslim mobilization during the period of this study (1976 through 1985, with emphasis on the eighties). The most famous event of the first half of the period was the peace initiative and treaty, though at least equal to it in the consciousness of militant fundamentalism was the family law of 1979, scornfully called Jihan's law, which was seen to be not just incorrect Islamic law, but, being wrongly modified, a secularist attack on, and indeed a replacement of the most central part of Islamic law. The assassination of the "culprit" had a cathartic effect that tended to reduce religious tension to some degree, and for a while. Though President Mubarak has not abrogated Camp David, he has been less accommodating to Israel, and has largely restored Egypt to its former place among Arab countries. In the process there has been a noticeable resurgence of Egyptian nationalism, an assertion of Egyptian dignity, notably vis a vis the West. And finally, not only have many political elites and some parties called for the legislation and application of Islamic law, but the Supreme Court in the spring of 1985 struck down the 1979 family law, making way for a new law, more to the liking of the fundamentalists, if not the feminists. The arrests of September, 1981, and following the events of October 6 in Cairo and October 8 in Asyut, seriously disrupted organized militant fundamentalism. This fact notwithstanding, and in what might seem to be less propitious circumstances, just as Gamā'at at-Takfīr wa-l-Higra (cf. the ritual execution of Šayk id-Dahabī) was followed by Ar-Raḥḥāl's group and Farag's Tanzīm ig-Gihād, with minimal membership overlap with their predecessor, now we already hear of at least one new group, Gamā'at Tathīr il-Kudāh (Society for the Purification of the Judges), apparently found in possession of weapons and explosives. Since Farag's group survived the massive arrests ordered by the September 2 decree, without being discovered by Egyptian security and intelligence forces, one can readily assume that neither this new (and possibly now defunct) group, nor the demonstration grandstanding of Šayk Ḥāfiz Salāma, represents the present totality of the violent option. Perhaps as significant as anything else are the facts that, according to my field observations, most Egyptians had and have mixed feelings regarding the assassins, who are seen to have been sincere, and that Islamic assertiveness in the Islamic press, at the pulpit, and even in some government circles, is both increasingly sophisticated (vis a vis the secular ideologies of Western democracy and Eastern Marxism) and increasingly equatable to or supportive of Egyptian nationalism.

Camp David and the 1979 family law were widely viewed as Western intervention into Egyptian politics and sociocultural affairs, and are understood by many of the deeply religious as only two

examples of a general campaign against Islam. This circumstance did not favor certain types of data collection. Some books on religious topics are no longer sold on the open market, or if they are, a special permission is required to obtain them. The administration of a questionnaire was never contemplated, and interviews were sufficiently guarded as to be of limited value in many cases. Some good interview data were obtained, however, largely due to the existence of individuals who have known me for years (including some preachers). Participant observation was also occasionally rewarding. For example a sufi brotherhood became interested in converting me during the festival days of Mūlid in-Nabī. I told them from the start that I was not Muslim, that my interest in Islam is scholarly, and that I did not know how one could become certain that Islam is true. They were totally comfortable with this situation and told me that studying Islam is insufficient, and one must "taste" it, i.e., experience it ritually. I agreed to the experiment, and after a certain amount of instruction I was allowed to participate fully in a mūlid of a major saint. The data difficulties caused by current religious tension were compensated for, however. First, that tension itself is of great interest, and variously manifested. And second, there has been a considerable expansion of the religious press. Though Ad-Da'wa was not yet back in publication, various periodicals were systematically collected and carefully examined, including: Al-Liwā' al-Islāmī, An-Nūr, Al-Umma, At-Tawhīd, Al-I'tisām, At-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī, Al-Hudā n-Nabawī, Al-Muslim as-Ṣaḡīr, Al-Jum'ā, and Al-Mukhtār al-Islāmī. Old issues of some of these, and of Ad-Da'wa, were obtained from used book dealers, as well as some fairly recent copies of Azhar textbooks. Other Azhar textbooks were made available to me by Al-Azhar, which continued to be generally supportive of my research. Also in the book stalls one readily finds books such as guides to Muslim rites (ablution, prayer, fasting, etc., published for Muslim use), polemics, sermon collections, and items of popular Islam, rejected by reformist Islam (amulets, etc.). Also it was possible to listen to and record sermons and religious programs (radio and television), and to purchase religious audio recordings. In spite of the circumstances, and while carefully avoiding research techniques that might have been objected to by the authorities and others, I was able to acquire such a large quantity of material that data analysis can only proceed by scanning for information clearly relevant to well defined topics.

During the period of field research the court findings on the organizations of Ar-Raḥḥāl (later of Ḥabīb) and of Muḥammad 'Abd is-Salām Farag were released to the press, and due to their considerable detail they were acquired and carefully examined for this study, to shed light on the modus operandi of the most significant manifestaion of the violent fundamentalist option since Gamāl 'Abd in-Nāṣir repressed the Muslim Brothers movement. The aspects being looked at are: 1) membership background in

comparison with their level of activity, 2) recruitment strategy, 3) organization and secrecy, 4) arms availability, 5) ideology, and 6) repression and support from the larger society. Of particular interest is the role of sympathetic religious elites who can lend legitimacy to militant ideas while just barely staying on the safe side of the line in terms of their direct participation. The examples of Šayḵ ʿAbd-Allāh and Šayḵ al-Maḥallāwī will be studied. The court's findings will be supplemented by other published information.

Information has also been collected regarding the mobilization and control objectives and institutions of institutionalized or "official" Islam. This focus is primarily represented by Al-Azhar, but will include the restricted role of Maʿhad id-Dirāsāt il-Islāmīya. Though material will be used from my book Egypt, Islam and Social Change: Al-Azhar in Conflict and Accommodation (Berlin: 1984), considerable expansion has taken place since the completion of the research for that study. This investigation will not only focus on Al-Azhar as a religious education system, and the center of Sunni orthodoxy (some would say "state" orthodoxy), but also on the Azharīyīn, as both a resource, and a problem, for social control, and for social change.

Central to the issues posed by militant Islam and institutionalized Islam is the problem of the demand for the application of Islamic law. The data collection on this aspect of the project has not gone deeply into the minutiae of the theological and legalistic polemics constantly rehashed by the Šarīʿa protagonists. Rather, it has focused on the foundations of the problem in the concept of divine law, and the sociopolitical struggles in the Egyptian context. This includes the roles of the parties, the codification activities in the religion committee of Maglis iṣ-Šaʿb, the maneuverings of the various sides in this assembly, the family law of 1979, the judiciary's finding that this law was unconstitutionally established, the threats made against secularist judges, the demonstrations, and the executive's response. The problem is not being investigated as being essentially a conflict between a medieval legal heritage and the needs of a modern state and economy, but as a conflict between the demand of some to use coercion to realize their ideal of cultural monism, and the demands of others to enjoy freedom in a society based on sociocultural pluralism. Sufficient data have been found in the Egyptian press to pursue this analysis.

Increasingly religious elites are aware that neither state coercion nor religious education in the public school system, nor even both together, can realize their ideal of an Islamic society. Hence the tremendous increase in emphasis on preachers and preaching. For the state, an adequate corps of "properly trained" preachers is the best means to produce an Islamic

mobilization that shuns the violent option as being "un-Islamic." For many Muslim elites, it is a means to pursue Muslim mobilization more broadly defined, i.e., the mobilization of Muslims generally regarding the proper daily observance of Islamic ritual and morality, the private application of Islamic law in the life of each believer. For others, it is a means to apply nonviolent pressure on the state to use its power of coercion to pursue their concept of Muslim mobilization via both voluntary and enforced conformity. Such a corps of preachers requires sufficient rewards to attract individuals to the profession (currently suffering a manpower shortage), and the means to educate, orient and train them. For the state, there is the problem of controlling their activities, while for those promoting Islamic revolution (of one sort or another) there is the problem of the freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly, i.e., the freedom to pursue the realization of "God's will" in the face of heretical and/or corrupt rulers. Information on the current condition of Muslim preaching in Egypt, and its institutionalization, has been collected from published materials and from interviews.

To the extent that Muslim preachers enjoy a base of operation independent of the state, it is due to the Islamic societies, private organizations that form in neighborhoods to build and/or support a mosque. These are also often involved in the establishment and promotion of programs associated with the mosque, using its facilities, and more or less under the imam's supervision, such as Kur'ān schools, clinics, day-care centers, women's resource centers, and religion study groups. The Ministry of Religious Properties has also increased its efforts to add these services, making the mosque into an Islamic center. Information on these societies is essential to understanding the role of the preacher, and his efforts, in combination with concerned members of the community, to mobilize Muslims to apply Islam in their daily lives. The challenge that they face, in turn, can only be understood when one learns what ritual and other prescriptive demands are made on the practicing Muslims, and what countervailing trends exist, and are on the rise (educational, career, recreational, etc.).

Another group of societies organized to promote their concept of Muslim mobilization are the sufi (mystic) brotherhoods. These are very active in recruiting members, instructing them in the secrets of the order, and involving them in their rites. Each of the principal orders is organized throughout Egypt, and its leadership enjoys voluntarily assumed commitments of allegiance. There is, however, a second mobilization effort being attempted, on the part of those who do not disagree with the ideals of "true" sufism, but who do disagree with some sufi "excesses" and some beliefs that they consider to be unorthodox. This reform effort was being promoted at the turn of the century by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, who, with state support, undertook to create a means of

access to the leadership and their influence among the brotherhoods, by establishing Al-Maglis al-A'la li-t-Turuk as-Sūfiya (1903). This continues to be the principal body that the state and Al-Azhar attempt to influence in order to promote their reforms among the sufis. Investigation into the issues involved, and current objectives, shall rely on material collected from the Islamic press, on documents obtained from this maglis, and on a limited amount of interviewing and participant observation. In view of the fact that the Friday sermon of the mosque preacher is experienced somewhat passively by many of the minority who attend it, it is probably the case that a large proportion of the more effective religious education of Egyptian adults takes place in sufi study groups.

An important characteristic of the period under study has been the growth and relatively free activity of the Islamic press (though for some time Ad-Da'wa has been closed down, some religious elites are not allowed to publish, and all editors know the limits of state tolerance). And since these publications are the source of much of the data for study, it is natural that their effort to mobilize Muslims be itself an object of study. The periodicals in question are those listed above, in addition to Magallat al-Azhar, and Minbar al-Islām. They are being analyzed with respect to their content format (articles, Kur'ān commentary, letters to the editor, legal opinions (fatāwā), special studies, conferences), their content orientation (sufi, antisufi, fundamentalist), their sponsor (a religious society, a political party, a government agency), their attitude towards the violent fundamentalist option and towards secularist rulers, and the "etiquette" involved in criticizing government policies.

Though some of these institutions are part of or tied to the state, some are not. Due to the orientations of some private groups, the competition among them includes the issue of social control, which in Egypt means minimally the exclusion of unconstitutional violence from the legitimate means of promoting change. The analysis of the data, primarily within the above foci, will seek to identify, elucidate, and interrelate (where relevant): 1) the congruent and conflicting orientations, objectives, and preference of means; 2) the role and effectiveness factors of social control; 3) the factors that influence the receptiveness of the public or publics; and 4) the state's policy imperatives that almost certainly guarantee conflict with current fundamentalist interpretations of Islam (possibly including population control, the promotion of tourism, positive political and cultural relations with the West, the encouragement of modern financial institutions, and the encouragement of women's rights). Militant Muslim mobilization has realized a degree of disruption far disproportionate to their numbers, but has not yet succeeded among the religiously active publics in general, whose support will ultimately determine the direction of Islam in Egypt. The analysis will distribute its

emphasis accordingly. At present only about one half of the materials collected has been systematically studied and indexed. When this work is completed, and the overall results have been reviewed, it will be possible to bring the analysis to maturity. At that time, at least one narrower topic will be developed into a paper, and the overall picture will be distilled into a small book.

Arthur Chris Eccel
NEH Fellow
1984-85

THE REVIVAL OF ISLAMIC PREACHING IN CONTEMPORARY EGYPT

In the research I carried out this past year, I attempted to broaden the scope of an earlier project carried out between 1977-1979 in the Upper Egyptian city of Minya. At that time, I was concentrating on the role of the local Islamic preachers who preside in different types of mosques and other popular religious associations. Due to good luck, patience and the support of Dr. 'Abd al-Min'am Shawki, who at that time was the dean of the College of Arts at the newly established Minya University, I was able to go about that study with a great deal of direct observation. While this ethnographic approach enabled me to get a solid grasp of the socio-cultural context of local Islamic institutions, it was also unavoidably circumscribed by a very particular time and space. Thus even while I was methodologically at a disadvantage with regard to many "outside" factors regarding the ritual expression of Islam, and especially preaching, I fully recognized their strength. It became clear to me that the local practices, styles and attitudes in a provincial capital such as Minya were strongly influenced, directly or indirectly, by hierarchical government bureaucracies, cross-cutting ideological trends, some outstanding national personalities and of course, current events which were interpreted somewhat symbolically in the light of the limited indigenous perspective. In this second study I set out to investigate some of the institutions and cultural dynamics that belong to the wider context of local Islamic preaching in today's Egypt.

My initial plan was to focus the research on two points. First, I would attempt to study one particular group of professional preachers, who are found throughout Egypt, but who are not officially associated with mosques. This type of preacher, known specifically by the title wa'iz, functions directly under the auspices of al-Azhar. The group was established in 1928, when 40 Azhar graduates were assigned to a special office in the Ministry of the Interior. Today, they number approximately 950, among whom are approximately 300 associated with the armed forces as a sort of chaplain corps, and roughly 50 in services abroad as missionaries, mostly in other Arab countries.

Secondly, I intended to look at whatever continues in the spirit of the movement to reform the Friday ritual sermon, khutbah al-juma'ah, which began in the late nineteenth century under the inspiration of Muhammad Abdu and his followers. At that time, with the exception of a few elite urban mosques Islamic preaching had widely degenerated into as ossified formalism. In some cases it was omitted, or it had been reduced to the recitation of a brief classical set-piece, memorized and repeated weekly. In other cases, notably in village settings, where preaching was in the hands of untrained shayks, sermons had sometimes turned into discourses that freely mixed religious exhortation with popular

superstition. At several junctures, during the first half of this century there were calls from various quarters to modernize the Islamic sermon. Criticism came from such diverse figures as Muhammad al-Zawahari, who was at one time Shayk al-Azhar or Muhammad Husseim Haykal, the political philosopher and journalist. They sought to simplify the idiom of the sermon in order to make the language itself more comprehensible to the masses and its contents both more orthodox and more relevant to the needs of modern Egypt. I was interested in finding out what had become of this movement and from whence came the current trends in mosque preaching.

My original plan was to approach these topics from the center and the periphery. I already knew the situation in Minya, and I had very good relations with preachers in that city, including many of the wa'iz type. Hence, I foresaw returning to this former site of mine to do some of the same kind of ethnographic work I had done several years ago. Then in addition, I intended to devote my time to studying some of the major institutions in Cairo which train preachers or which oversee their appointment and performance. It turned out, however, that my hopes were a little too high, for once I got to work I encountered a number of official obstacles I had not anticipated. Most significantly, a new or rather a reinstated policy said to be for security reasons, prevented me from carrying out any further work in Minya. Moreover, in Cairo, even while I was usually politely received by the pertinent officials, I found it impossible to gain access to certain basic records and source material that describe and document developments in the contemporary profession of preachers. Nevertheless, I was able to gather a mixed assortment of indirect and fragmentary information bearing on numerous aspects of the issue. Of course I was also able to observe ongoing events and collect a mini-archive made up of news clippings as well as record sermons and other religious rhetoric that are regularly broadcast on the radio and television.

One of the first places I got in contact with to start my study was the national office for the wa'iz preachers. This Directorate is located in Nasser City in the new Islamic Research Building on the sixth floor. Supposedly, the Shayk al-Azhar along with other upper echelon staff are also going to relocate there, but so far they have resisted moving out of their old quarters next to the Husseini Mosque. As I would come to discover, the fact that the administrative offices of the wa'iz had been among the first facilities transferred to this relative isolation is one of many indicators of its marginal place in the grand scheme of Azhar affairs.

Also, I arrived at the time of an interregnum, meaning that for the time being I was told to wait, because no one considered himself entitled to sanction my inquiry. When a new director was named after many months, I was permitted to ask questions, but the answers I received were disappointingly vague and guarded.

Even my request for something so simple as a breakdown of wa'iz preachers by governate or figures on the expansion of the profession since its founding were denied to me. I had more success in casual discussion with those about the office who are less directly taken up in what is still the highly politicized domain of public religion in Egypt. For instance, I was well received by Shayk Abdullah Munshid, who had once been a director of the office of wa'iz preachers and who is now a counsellor at the Dar al-Fatwa at the Azhar.

Also, I was helped by one of the editors of the small monthly magazine Nur al-Islam, which is published by the national office, with articles written by and for wa'iz preachers. Through his kindness I also obtained a collection of back issues which proved to be of considerable interest as one forum for the expression of their collective concerns. Finally, I managed to meet and speak with a number of the rank and file wa'iz preachers. However, given the unclear signals about what kind of blessing my project had obtained from the director's office I found that my involvement was largely confined to "salon ethnography" rather than the empirically richer participant observation I had known in Minya.

A second focus for my research was upon the Azhar, and specifically upon the newly established Kulliyah al-Da'wah or College of Mission Activity. Here I was well received by the new Dean of that College, Dr. Ra'uf Shalabi, who freely gave me of his time and showed a kindly and professional interest in the whole project. He was willing to answer many of my general questions regarding the training of preachers, and to assist me in acquiring publications related to this process, although no archival records were made available. In general, I discovered that attention to preaching as a specialized task of religious functionaries is relatively recent. In the pre-modern setting, ritual oratory was learned and practiced without formal structures of instruction. These skills were developed as an integral part of the remarkable culture of oral literacy for which traditional Islamic education is famous. Boys who began with the memoration of the Quran and hadith and who were regularly exposed to the classical language learned the art of preaching largely by immersion and imitation. Only in 1912, was the first course introduced into the Azhar curriculum that was intended to provide training in the principles and the practice of giving sermons. The initiator of this program was Shayk'Ali Mahfuz whose writings on all aspects of preaching have lately experienced a revival. In fact, his large book Hadayah al-Murshadin ila Turuq al-wa'iz al-l-khutuba (Guidance for Spiritual Leaders on the Ways of Preaching and Sermon-Delivery) which is encyclopedic in its treatment, has recently been republished and is everywhere available. While I cannot determine who is actually reading it, it remains known and praised among Azharis as the single most important work on the topic. Not surprisingly, given the present climate of Islamic resurgence in Egypt, the tenor of Mahfouz's

book is staunchly traditionalist, with a strong undertone of polemic against the intrusion of so-called Western and Christian influences.

In 1932, this course was expanded and a fuller program was introduced into the Kulliyah Usul al-Din, the Azhar's College of Religious Sciences and the academic seat of traditional Islamic theology. Much later, within the last decade, this specialized training has become even further institutionalized in tandem with the government effort to build up the ranks of full-time religious functionaries, whose primary task is defined in terms of public preaching, whether in mosques or in the case of the wa'iz in other settings such as clubs, schools, hospitals, factories or prisons.

Presently, there are several large extensions to the Azhar's Kulliyah al-Da'wah in such provincial cities as Tanta, Zagazig and Assiut. The graduates of these institutes are almost all destined to become preachers. Here it might also be noted that the salary of preachers follows the same schedule as other government appointed muwasafin, while for most of them, given their training, career mobility is far more limited than for graduates in most other colleges. Also overall social status of a preacher is surrounded with ambiguity. Consequently, within the highly stratified context of recruitment into higher education in Egypt, those who attend this college, with only some exceptions, tend to be lackluster students who had scores too low to allow them entry into more prestigious colleges. Moreover, all of these young men are graduates of Azhar secondary schools which also represents a somewhat lower standard than the public school system. As an incentive, however, all students in this college are accorded stipends to assist them with books and living expenses plus, of course, guaranteed placement when they finish.

The third institution that I sought to include in my research, and the largest in terms of its involvement in preaching and preachers is the Ministry of Religious Endowments. Here again, my inquiry was continuously impeded by a series of obstacles that had to do with obtaining the proper "authorizations." Nevertheless, I did succeed in making a number of amiable contacts which allowed me to conduct interviews and collect a substantial amount of helpful information despite the fact that my final permission was "pending" approval (as it still was when I left at the year's end). Given my interest, the importance of the Ministry of Religious Endowments lies in the fact that, in theory at least, it constitutes the bureaucracy in charge of all the mosques in the country. In actuality, it only directly supervises a small percentage, roughly 4,000 of a total said to be close to 40,000 mosques. But these numbers are deceiving. For one thing, the mosques that belong to this system, popularly called "government mosques" include virtually all of the large

premier institutions that dominate local Islamic observance throughout the country.

Historically, the inclusion of mosques into this government system has been based on such criteria as favorable location, geographic distribution, prestige, size and the good condition of the facilities. Hence the great majority of the thousands of mosques in the excluded residual category are small, in poor condition, and are located where they are considered by objective measurements to be either isolated or redundant. But there is also another category of mosques, statistically relatively small, although growing rapidly and of the utmost ideological significance. These are the independent mosques known as the masajid ahaliyya, founded and maintained by one of a wide variety of voluntary associations, including some on a national scale. Many of these institutions which derive support from the contributions of a local membership or some generous benefactor, regard their freedom from direct government supervision as a mark of greater religious purity. It entitles them, in the popular view, to adopt a critical posture which is highly favored among those who identify with a newly militant Islam, even if this attitude is not always reflected in action. However, observation seems to confirm the impression that the overwhelming majority of Egyptian Muslims are quite willing, indeed eager, to accept the government funds for the support of their local mosques and their staff. The fact that official subsidies can imply a large measure of official control as well is apparently an acceptable proposition to many, although for others the consequences of government support represents compromise they may or may not be able to justify.

Moreover, government policy since the time of Nasser has aimed at incorporating more and more unaffiliated mosques into the national bureaucracy. But over the last few years the drive has been enormously accelerated as evidenced by the announcement earlier this year that a special fund of over two million Pounds was being allocated to the Ministry budget for this express purpose of advancing this goal of total inclusion. Nor has the public been indifferent to this process. While some have resisted, others have showed great initiative in cooperation. On many occasions while visiting the Ministry in Cairo, I saw the piles of dossiers full of applications submitted by neighborhoods and villages seeking this new status for their mosques. Also, I was often witness to the appeals of countless shaykhs and effendis who arrived in person to promote their local cause.

Thus, while some in vocal opposition to current affairs who argue on Islamic grounds have regarded a sudden government decision to take over an especially outspoken mosque as the seizure of a "free" pulpit, the great majority of Egyptian Muslims are more

than willing to let the Ministry assume responsibility for the upkeep of their local mosques. But whether they are also eager to have an official preacher assigned to them is a more complicated question. Meanwhile the Ministry would like to see these two items linked. So, this past year, for example, a new stipulation was introduced, namely that the requesting community was not only required to have already built and/or refurbished the mosque up to a certain standard, but a residence for the preacher and his family was also a prerequisite for consideration. Exactly how strictly such a rule will be observed is unforeseeable.

Interestingly, this demand of a home for the preacher points up another interesting factor that operates on the local level in Egypt's sociology of religion. The rule would have the effect of forcing a community to accept an "outside" preacher as part of any support package. Behind all this stands the whole complex of chronic problems facing all functionaries assigned to unfamiliar posts distant from their own homes, although in the case of shaykhs, the matter is complicated by the special sensitivities evoked by religion.

Another response of the government to this situation, again working through the Ministry of Religious Endowments has been a tendency to shift the classical emphasis of awqaf administration away from property and toward personnel. Whenever reading various early modern documents regarding government involvement in mosques, I have been impressed with the dominant or even the exclusive interest of the Ministry in the physical properties of mosques. The descriptions and comments by inspectors and clerks who have left reports on the mosques and zawiyya's typically concentrate on their material aspects, often in minute detail. Remarks about the competence of the leadership or the quality of functions like preaching or teaching are very rare. When such statements do occur, they are limited to highly conventionalized generalizations.

Today, however, the Ministry operates and continues to expand a program which directly oversees the Friday preaching in approximately 25,000 mosques apart from the 4,000 which are fully integrated into their system. The bureau in charge of this activity, located on the first floor of the old Ministry Building on Sharif street in Cairo, is headed by Shaykh Mansur Ibrahim 'Abaid. Hardly incidently, he is also one of the top officials serving on the Religious Commission in the Egyptian Parliament. The preachers who are enlisted to give the Friday sermon under the direction of this office are sent to these mosques not yet absorbed into the national bureaucracy. These part-time preachers are technically required to have an Azhar background, and they are recruited largely from among resident school teachers. They receive a salary for these services, graded to their credentials and experience.

The enormous scale and the centralized organization of so many preachers is a new phenomenon in Egypt. These practitioners fall somewhere between the overly simplistic perception of lay amateurs over against a professional clerical structure. For it is also important to point out that the preaching of these once-a-week shaykhs is supervised by the same network of Ministry inspectors who oversee the performance of the full time preachers in government mosques. Also these part time preachers must all pass a state security clearance before they are entered on the official list as available to local Ministry offices for assignments.

Over the course of this year of research, while focusing my attention on a few select institutions, I tried to cast a broad net in other directions in the hopes of so gaining a better understanding of modern Islamic preaching. I explored, for instance, the role played by certain voluntary benevolent societies, notably al-Jama'iyya al-Shara'iyya. This group is one of the few of its kind that survived the purges of the Nasser period and is important not only because of its continuity, its national distribution and its considerable resources, but because of its involvement in the reform of preaching throughout this century. Among other things, this society operates a permanent institute for the training of Islamic preachers, and over the years, they have published a sizable literature on this and related subjects.

I also met and spoke with a number of preachers who are also authors and well-known media personalities. Among such men who were pointed out to me as especially influential are Dr. 'Abdullah Shahata and Dr. 'Abd al-Sabur Shahin, both of the College Dar al-'Ulum, and Dr. Mustafa Mahmud. Also, under the guidance of literature specialists, I set out to read examples of sermon rhetoric from the classical period of Islam, as well as the sermon-like oratory of such modern nationalist figures as 'Abdullah Nadim, Mustafa Kamal and Sa'ad Zaghlul. Needless to say, I also obtained a large number of published sermon collections which are among the titles offered in the book stalls near the Azhar.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the many persons connected with the American Research Center who made the project possible, and the many others whose assistance and kindness made it so productive. The Cairo staff of the Center, under the direction of Richard Verdery, along with his lieutenants Amira Khuttab, Albert 'Abd al-Ahad and Mary Ellen Lane deserve special mention, but there are so many others, in such an array of academic, government, or religious cadres, not to mention a great gallery of friends, that I shrink before the recognition of my debt of gratitude.

Patrick Daniel Gaffney, NEH Fellow 84-85
Department of Anthropology
University of Notre Dame

NEWS AND NOTES

New Cairo Center Telephone Numbers

As of mid-December 1985, the Cairo Center has new telephone numbers. Please note that the old numbers 33052 and 28239 are now changed to 355-3052 and 354-8239 (i.e. both are seven digit numbers under the new system, instead of five only). To call Cairo dial 011-20-2- plus the seven digit number.

NARCE Serial Numbering

In planning to issue an index to the Newsletter which eventually came out as NARCE Supplement 1985, we discussed various possibilities of how to number it. Should it be a regular or a special issue? In the end it appeared in lieu of the Summer 1985 number. However in assigning a number to the Fall 1985 issue we counted the summer supplement as if it were Number 130. Obviously this causes some confusion for which we must apologize.

JARCE

Our new editors are actively pushing forward in the hopes of bringing the journal up to date this year. Volume XXI (1984) is expected March 10th, volume XXII (1985) has gone to the typesetter, and we are now collecting articles for volume XXIII (1986). Please forward your contributions to John Foster, 2003 Lincoln St., Evanston, IL 60201.

Annual Meeting

As we write (early February) plans for our April 18-20, 1986 annual meeting are progressively coming together. Reservation cards for the Hotel Washington (Pennsylvania Ave. at 15th St., Washington, DC 20004, tel: 202-638-5900 or 800-424-9540) plus meeting program, and other information should go into the mail about March 7th.

Fostat Repair Fund

The response to President Robert Fernea's appeal for donations to save our houseboat was beyond our expectations. These contributions not only help with the costly repair of the boat's hull but indicate also a wide-spread feeling of affection for life on the Nile and the increasingly unique moments many of us enjoyed aboard the Fostat.

It is a particular pleasure therefore to record our thanks to each of the following supporters of this campaign:

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